

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 IO-13 HA-05 /077 W
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R 011130Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7717
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 0696

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HU, UR, RO, SHUM
SUBJ: CEAUSESCU ON MINORITIES: A TOUCH OF PAPRIKA?
REF: BUCHAREST 608

1. SUMMARY. IN REMARKS DURING EVENTS CONNECTED WITH HIS 60TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION, CEAUSEUBU VIGOROUSLY REAFFIRMED GOR MINORITY POLICY, VOWED TO COMBAT ALL MANIFESTATIONS OF ETHNIC CHAUVINISM AND NATIONALISM, AND POSITED CRITERION OF DOING A GOOD JOB AS TRUE STANDARD AGAINST WHICH ALL ROMANIANS SHOULD BE JUDGED. CEAUSESCU WAS PROBABLY REPLYING TO LETTER BY FORMER SENIOR PARTY OFFICIAL KIRALY, AN ETHNIC HUNGARIAN, WHICH HAS NOW REACHED WEST AND IS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF ALLEGED JOB AND LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HUNGARIANS.
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OTHER CEAUSESCU COMMENTS DISPUTING PRE-WAR COMINTERN

THESIS OF ROMANIA AS IMPERIALIST STATE WERE ALSO APPARENTLY DIRECTED MORE AT HUNGARIANS OVER TRANSYLVANIA THAN SOVIETS OVER ROMANIA. END SUMMARY.

2. IN JANUARY 24 SPEECH UPON RECEIVING DOCTORATE DEGREES

IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, CEAUSESCU NOTED THAT GOR POLICY OF DISTRIBUTING PRODUCTION FACILITIES THROUGHOUT ALL AREAS OF ROMANIA CONSTITUTES ONE CONCRETE EXAMPLE OF GOR DESIRE TO

ASSURE COMPLETE EQUALITY FOR ALL ROMANIAN CITIZENS, IRRESPECTIVE OF ETHNIC ORIGIN. CONCERNS EXPRESSED ABROAD THAT, AS THESE CITIZENS BECOME INVOLVED IN URBAN/FACTORY LIFE, THEY WILL LOSE THEIR TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND RELIGION DO NOT BOTHER US, HE SAID SINCE, WHILE GOR RESPECTS BELIEFS OF ITS CITIZENS, "IN NO WAY DO WE WISH TO MAINTAIN A STATE OF BACKWARDNESS IN EITHER THOUGHT OR CONSCIENCE." WHILE ALL CITIZENS CAN SPEAK THE LANGUAGE THEY UNDERSTAND BEST AND CAN PARTICIPATE IN LEADERSHIP OF SOCIETY WITH NO RESTRICTIONS WHATSOEVER, "AT THE SAME TIME WE WILL DO EVERYTHING TO COMBAT ANY NATIONALIST MANIFESTATION, OF ANY TYPE. WE KNOW FROM OUR OWN EXPERIENCE THAT CHAUVINISM AND NATIONALISM--BE THEY ROMANIAN, HUNGARIAN, GERMAN, JEWISH, OR ANY OTHER--ARE ENEMIES OF THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE, OF SOCIALISM, AND OF COMMUNISM."

3. IN SPEECH NEXT DAY AT RALLY COMMEMORATING HIS BIRTHDAY, CEAUSESCU REMINISCED ABOUT HIS EARLY YEARS AS A COMMUNIST IN 1930'S WHEN PARTY WAS ILLEGAL. THEN NO COMRADE OF HUNGARIAN, GERMAN, OR ANY OTHER ETHNIC GROUP
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("AND THERE WERE MANY") RAISED THE ISSUE OF ETHNICITY; ONLY QUESTION WAS THAT OF DOING A GOOD JOB, "AND THIS IS THE ONLY ONE THAT IS VALID TODAY AS WELL."

4. COMMENT. LE MONDE, WASHINGTON POST (STATE 24809), THE GUARDIAN, AND PRESUMABLY OTHER PAPERS HAVE PUBLISHED "OPEN" LETTER FROM KAROL KIRALY, AN ETHNIC HUNGARIAN WHO AT ONE TIME WAS SENIOR RCP OFFICIAL (POL EX CO CANDIDATE MEMBER), TO RCP LEADERSHIP COMPLAINING ABOUT ALLEGED JOB AND LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA. LETTER WAS ALLEGEDLY WRITTEN TWO MONTHS AGO AND PROBABLY EXPLAINS BOTH CEAUSESCU'S VIGOROUS DEFENSE OF GOR MINORITY POLICIES AND HIS CONDEMNATION OF CHAUVINISM/NATIONALISM. MR. KIRALY'S PRESENT ADDRESS AND SITUATION ARE UNKNOWN TO EMBASSY, BUT WE WILL KEEP OUR EARS OPEN.

5. FRG DCM CLAIMED TO US THAT HE SAW A MAJOR CHANGE IN GOR POLICY IN THAT UP TO NOW STRESS HAS BEEN ON DUTY OF ETHNICS TO STAY IN ROMANIA AND HELP BUILD FUTURE OF COUNTRY RATHER THAN EMIGRATE SOMEWHERE ELSE. EMPHASIS IN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 0696

CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS, HOWEVER, WAS ON DEFINITION OF GOOD COMMUNISTS AND CITIZENS, WITHOUT MENTION OF IMPORTANCE OF THEIR REMAINING IN ROMANIA. OUR VIEW IS THAT A FEW COMMENTS DO NOT NECESSARILY MAKE A POLICY, AND WE SEE NO EVIDENCE YET OF ANY GOR RELAXATION OF EMIGRATION BARRIERS.

6. FURTHER TO REFTTEL, DCM DISCUSSED CEAUSESCU'S JAN 24 HISTORICAL PRONOUNCEMENTS WITH CRISTIAN POPISTEANU, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF FRONTLINE ROMANIAN ORGAN FOR HISTORICAL POLEMICS (MAGAZIN ISTORIC), ON JAN 28. POPISTEANU SAID PARTY DECISION (LABELLING TURN-OF-CENTRY ROMANIA AN IMPERIALIST STATE) HAD BEEN TAKEN AT TIME WHEN PREWAR PARTY HAD BEEN LED BY NON-ROMANIANS IMPOSD BY COMINTERN. THEORY
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ITSELF WAS SOVIET, AND HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO JUSTIFY STRIPPING ROMANIA DOWN TO PRE-WWI MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA BY DELIVERING BESSARABIA TO USSR, TRANSYLVANIA, CRISANA AND MARAMURES TO HUNGARY, AND BANAT TO YUGOSLAVIA. INTENDED AUDIENCE FOR CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS (AS WELL AS ATTACK ON CHAUVINISM) HAD BEEN SOVIET OVER BESSARABIA, BUT WAS AIMED PRIMARILY AT HUNGARY OVER TRANSYLVANIA. DESPITE "SORT OF UNDERSTANDING" TO DAMP POLEMICS ACHIEVED DURING KATUSHEV VISIT IN MAY 1976, SOVIET HISTORIANS HAD IN FACT CONTINUED SNIPING ON BESSARABIA. ROMANIANS HAD BEEN RIPOSTING, BUT SUCH PIECES AS MUSAT ARTICLE IN NO. 6 OF LAST YEAR'S ANALE AND PARTY HISTORY INSTITUTE DIRECTOR POPESCU-PUTURI'S SUBSEQUENT PUBLICATION OF A LETTER FROM CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA TO JOSEPH II OF AUSTRIA PROPOSING TO MAKE HER LOVER POTEMKIN THE GOVERNOR OF MOLDAVIA. HUNGARIAN HISTORIANS, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN EVEN MORE ENERGETIC AND PERSISTENT OVER PAST TWO YEARS. ASKED ABOUT BULGARIANS AND THE DOBRUDJA, POPISTEANU SAID THEY HAVE BEEN IN IT TOO, BUT HAVE BEEN MORE PREOCCUPIED "IN THE SOUTH," POLEMICIZING WITH THE YUGOSLAVS OVER MACEDONIA. AGGREY

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